/160 cont./

765 769 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthenware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined beforehand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having [783] finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the [262a] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

268 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/161 cont./
768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in [787] it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

592 836 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 823 762 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 775 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 ●768 672 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[698] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the
682 victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
628 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones, etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[82 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
753 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in illness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggravate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confession, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in consequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of
[768] suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is continually being repeated in that place ; the insults are heard again, the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nïshi pïichí – father of pïichí (nï – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pïichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pïichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pïrïkï), wild cat (músï), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hurótsï), brownish one (murúachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pïshií – your father; nïshí – his father; ïshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three arúur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *akuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 [579] Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. [583] An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur- [684] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are ● 764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, 583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and,
565 if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

614 In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
684 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

560 It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
583 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since mar-
riage.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

ought not to have children. The spirits can show her various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation. No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583] the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
587 At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
768 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
184 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[55 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[784 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.